1:Gutierrez de Pineda--58 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

/46 cont./

857 G2 322 G82 guarayas, and trupillo pods, as well as in gathering divi-divi, which is sold in the port towns for export; their labor is used for portering (women's work): they carry on their backs or shoulders the collected fruit, the firewood, and the water when the family does not own the necessary animals.

When ten or over the girl, taught by her elder kinswomen, starts to handle the spindle and loom, work in which she perfects herself during the seclusion of her initiation.

857 189 556 In general her occupations during childhood are affected by the economic and social position of her relatives, since a child of a well-to-do family will spend her childhood playing, without occupying herself with domestic chores except occasionally, since she is not considered as a small-sized adult as happens among poor families, but as a little girl, and she is treated as such. Certain light duties might be imposed but never a definite or clear-cut responsibility. She is expected to obey, mainly so that she recognize the authority of her elders, but when she enters the prepubertal age her mother and relatives start to take a more personal interest in her and to think it to be the opportune time to start training her in the duties pertaining to her position and her sex, teaching her all the household occupations that she will later improve on and become expert in during her seclusion, which will last longer the greater the wealth of the family.

264 592 Food, sleep, dress, and ornaments. Even before weaning, when this is delayed beyond the first year, or at times before, the child starts being fed adult food. By that time he asks his mother for food and she gives it to him, when he is small, more generously than she can at a later date; but later on he himself looks for it and, in order to satisfy his hunger, frequently steals food from his mother that she has put away, and this obliges the mother to hide it. (Cf. Punishment, Chap. II.)

The apportioning of food in a Guajiro household is done by the mother, who serves each one his share, starting with the husband, afterward the children, she being the last to eat. If she has a preference for a child, she shows it at this time by

/56 cont./

giving him a portion that is larger and better than the others, which is grumbled at and envied by the rest. When there are numerous daughters and only one boy in the family, he is the favored one and, in the absence of the father, is served in his place on the dishes the father customarily uses for his food and is served first as is done with /61/ the latter. When there are several sons these privileges go to the eldest. When food is scarce the eldest are the first to get it, and whatever remains is divided among the children of middle years. The same occurs when there are special dishes, which the children may occasionally taste if the father or uncle gives them some. But usually there is not enough for the child; when he grows up and is a man he will have his share of these special dishes. This makes the boys envious, and they will snatch whatever one of them may receive, or the eldest will leave the smallest without food after having eaten his share as quickly as possible, and it also explains the theft of food and provisions in spite of the punishments inflicted by the mother, which have been enumerated in another section.

Should the child have a noticeable liking for a certain kind of food, the mother indulges him when possible, giving him a larger portion of it, but this behavior cannot always be repeated as the boy must learn to eat everything, as it is not possible for him to be allowed to eat just the food he considers most appetizing. Furthermore, each child has his own dishes and cutlery for eating, such as gourd plates and spoons, etc., which he recognizes and insists on being served from. These articles are usually their private property.

The child of middle years shares fully in adult food by gradual change from his infant diet after weaning and by the adequate rationing of his new foods, so that his organism becomes accustomed to them and more readily assimilates them. First of all, the mother's milk is replaced by goat's milk and later by thin mazamorra prepared with a little milk, until he gets only this. They gradually feed him the various kinds of

1.Gutierrez de Pineda--61 8-8 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

/49 cont./

at the heart, which they eat, for by cooking in this way it becomes soft and digestible. They also include in their diet soups and special dishes made of beans.

The boys employed in work other than pasturing, who stay at home or can readily return there, take the usual breakfast upon rising. Later, when the hours of heat begin and the Guajiro returns to his home to rest on his hammock in the shade of his enramada /a bough-covered shelter/, he eats a meal which is more or less similar to that described above, and, toward seven at night, another.

A boy will add to his usual meals what he can find by picking wild fruit, hunting small animals or birds, by stealing food at home, and by drinking the milk he can obtain from the goats or other animals he has in his care.

We must add in conclusion that in no case does the woman occupy the first place when food is being served if there are men in the family. At the most she may occupy her mother's place if no older female relatives are present, it falling on her in this case to serve the food. If there are female slaves or bond servants or maids in the home these will carry out this duty under her supervision. These cases when the mother is replaced by the daughters in the task of serving the meals to the family are not frequent, as it is customary for the head woman not to leave her post for any lengthy interval without placing her responsibilities in the hands of a person competent to replace her.

* * *

The child of middle years keeps the same hours for sleeping as the adult. Generally, the child possesses from his birth onward an Indian-style hammock /chinchorro or hamaca/ /49/, that is to say, one made of cords of twisted agave fibers arranged in horizontal rows. This type of hammock is meant for young children, because bed-wetting at night is frequent in some cases, but especially because it is strong, cheap, and readily replaceable. We never heard of a case of a child sleeping on the ground.

/111 cont./

593 of water so that the man can bathe before entering the house and can rest in his hammock in the enramada; she also provides clean clothes, that is, a belt and guayuco, the common dress. She will immediately bring him a refreshing drink made from wild fruits, corn, or yucca. If after a hunting expedition the husband returns home and does not find all these things ready, he will complain to the woman and reproach her for lack of attention. A few moments after the man's return, the woman should produce food, preparing a portion of the game he has brought home, trying to make a dish that will be to his taste. Later she will sit by his side on the ground at the foot of the hammock on which he is resting, and she will recount to him all that has happened during his absence and the conduct of each and every member of the house in this lapse of time. If the man falls asleep she will stay silently at his side.

Another of the obligations of the woman to her husband refers to sexual satisfaction, which we have noted in a previous section.

Her duties in respect to feeding relate not only to the [264] obligation to supply him with food, but also to the special way of doing it -- to serve him the best portion in a special vessel and before anyone else in the house and to cook the food in accordance with the man's special taste.

593 Also the proper attention due to her husband's friends
574 when they come to the house is another of her obligations. It is customary for the man to bring his intimate friends to his first wife's house to entertain them, and his wife should then carry out adequately the part of a good housekeeper, complying with all the traditional norms of etiquette and hospitality, such as supplying them with hammocks in the enramada, bringing fresh drinks and especially a cup of coffee, and, whatever the hour of day or night they may arrive, giving them food in accordance with the tradition of her people and the particular rank of the visitors, and chatting

S: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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dentary, a site chosen in some solitary arid spot, and surrounded by walls of earth. At the death of Salvador, a Pushaina from Arroyo Carden, 120 fat oxen were killed, and the hides did not pay for the liquor drunk. Two of the same family meeting for the first time after the death of a relation, must squat down on their heels in front of each other, and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the louder the better. 764 765

The Indians are very punctilious in saluting. Calling at a rancho, visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident they are not welcome, so ride away. The words used never seem to be the same. The most frequent are "Intishi-pia" (you have come), or "Kiguare pia" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians are extremely cleanly. The principals all eat separately; receiving their allowance in an earthenware dish, *pooi*, with a gourd spoon, *pushi*. The remains, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers. Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is tendered after. As to their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is no doubt that the Goajiro is more hospitable than the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of claiming an ox in return. He is chivalresque in his donations. When he does give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, and given whole, without reserve, skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food to him, but certainly will give if requested, as is the custom, always begging. One thing a guest may rely upon receiving in a rancho is a hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among curious customs, is that of parents assuming the names of their children with the prefix *nashi* or *sushi* if the father, and *ni* or *si* if the mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Nashijuan," or if a daughter, "Sushijuana." The mother of Juan would be called "Nijuan," and if a daughter, "Sijuana." 574 [264] [265] [431] 551

The dress of the Goajiro is extremely simple, and probably similar to his savage luxury of three centuries ago, when Alfinger devastated the land, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—for he is cunning in the art of dyeing—have given way to the gorgeous blues, reds, and yellows of European wool. His every day working costume is simply a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, called *cairku*. When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he dons his best—a large loincloth with many folds, and the home-woven mantle *shi*, with a magnificent sash, *si-iru*. The mantle is managed with wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or dropping it from his shoulders, and tucking it into his immense sash, where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, and cut short, is kept back in a very athletic style by a ring or crown, 291 [346] [171] 302 291

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

musical bow. It was quite small. He held one end between his lips and struck the strings with a stick. If the reed-flute was introduced by the Moors in those early days, the musical bow must have come with negro slaves. Stringed instruments were not known in South America before the arrival of the white man. The Indians knew nothing of all that, but neither of these two originally foreign instruments were used in their rites, which supports the conclusion that they were introduced late.

The concert was interrupted by the women announcing that a meal awaited us. This began with the oily, somewhat nauseous berries which the Creoles call olives. We did not like their taste and never did more than just sample them. We had also heard that they might be injurious. The main dish—one could almost say, naturally—consisted of boiled dried goat's meat, the standard fare in the peninsula, and we were given water that also tasted of goat—we preferred not to know why.

In Guajira it is possible to dry meat in the sun without salting it, providing you cut it in strips and remove all bone. In moister parts of the Caribbean countries meat has to be properly salted before it can be preserved by drying, but in the dry air of Guajira that can be dispensed with. Salt, too, is a thing of which they have more than enough.

Having four young men present, I thought I would arrange a competition for marksmanship with bow and arrow and with a sling. The prizes were an empty biscuit tin, a handkerchief and a needle. These were all desirable things and the contestants did their best. The fourth received a Swedish ten öre piece as consolation prize.

I took the opportunity to take a closer look at their weapons. The bows were powerful and had round sections; the arrows had iron heads shaped like a lancet. An old man said that in the old days the heads used to be made of bamboo. Some of the arrows, those intended for smaller birds, had blunt points made of wood or wax. The quarry was meant to be stunned by the force of the impact. They showed us arrows equipped with cross-pieces to prevent them becoming lost when used in the scrub. The cross-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

585 [621] Maxuna said that while she is in confinement a girl will have been taught, among other things, the attentions custom requires her to show her husband.

593 When he arrives home, she hastens to hang up his hammock and offer him something to drink. She at once prepares a meal, if one is not yet ready. The master of the house has [641] his own crockery, from which he alone eats, and his wife must see that he has his favourite dishes and that they are properly cooked. If he has returned from a journey or from hunting, she must see that he has water to wash in and a clean guayuco. Once he has taken his place in the hammock, she sits on the ground and tells him the day's events. If he falls asleep, she sits in silence.

[574] When the husband's friends or other people come to see him, the wife's place is again on the ground beside his hammock. She does not butt in upon the men's conversation, but knows how to be amusing if she is spoken to. She must see that each guest has a hammock to rest in and offer everyone refreshments. Men are proud to have such a hostess for a wife.

[574] In the husband's absence a wife must receive visitors courteously, but observe caution, if they are men. She will hang a hammock under a roofed shelter close to the house, but will not let the visitor inside. She will then offer him refreshments and sit down beside his hammock with some handwork.

It goes without saying that she must take good care of her husband's belongings and property, for he is often forced to be away with his herds. She must also take care of her [578] husband himself, when he is drunk, as he not infrequently is. When fights occur at feasts, the women, as we know, [574] throw themselves between the men to avoid bloodshed. A wife is responsible for her husband, when he is drunk. If she has not bothered to keep an eye on him and he is beaten or killed, the fault is hers. Or he may take his own life [762] while intoxicated—suicide for mere trifles is not unusual—and then too she can be held responsible, if she has not intervened. If he hurts her or destroys any of her things while he is drunk, she knows that he will make rich amends

T:Bollaert T-5 (1926, 1955) 1957
SC13 Guajiro SC13

have got the impression that I intended to keep it in a safe place in order to exploit it commercially, that is to say, hire it out to applicants. He could never have understood what a museum was.

We declined our host's invitation as politely as we could. Gladtvet's interest in his female slaves—who now had their faces painted black into the bargain—was very lukewarm.

We were served a dish of goat's meat, from a goat that our friend had been given at the funeral. Unfortunately it was old and tough, and my wife had to leave almost her entire helping. That was not regarded impolite in Guajira. On the contrary our hostess looked delighted and hastily removing it and herself to a very short distance, set about engulfing it. One might have thought that she did not get enough to eat, but no Guajiro wife was underfed in a well-to-do household. Often they had more food than they wanted. Why, then, did she not leave the helping for her slaves? Because she wanted what had been left by the lightest-complexioned woman she had ever seen, since one can become fairer oneself by eating what such a being has touched. For that reason, my wife, as a gesture of politeness, often left some of her food when we ate in Indian houses, to the delight of the women of the household. What I left would have been of use only to the medicine man, and that because I was a learned man.

On our return to the mission, the monks gave us a large piece of beef, which we grilled.

'Ay, ay,' said Francisco after the feast, 'the photographer señor should not have eaten grilled meat. I forgot his cóntra.'

'His cóntra?'

'Yes, he has the cóntra now. He ought to have eaten something else. What will happen now?'

The next day Gladtvet had a pain in his stomach and Francisco became frightened. Francisco had been brought up at the mission and considered himself a good Catholic, but that did not prevent him believing in magic. However, our medicine chest relieved Gladtvet's pains more easily than Francisco expected.